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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

PAGE 01 KIGALI 01588 01 OF 03 220844Z  
 ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	
NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	
SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	
PRM-10	DRL-09	G-00		/028W			

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 751FFB 220845Z /38

P 220640Z SEP 94  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0058  
 INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 001588

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, RW, US  
 SUBJECT: VISIT OF DAS BUSHNELL DELEGATION TO RWANDA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
 AFRICAN AFFAIRS PRUDENCE BUSHNELL, AF POLMIL ADVISER SCOTT  
 CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 01588 01 OF 03 220844Z  
 FISHER AND NAVY CMDR. WAYNE YOUNG VISITED RWANDA SEPTEMBER  
 15-18. IN MEETINGS WITH UN/GOR OFFICIALS, DAS BUSHNELL  
 UNDERLINED NEED FOR CONCRETE DEMONSTRATIONS OF GOR  
 COMMITMENT TO BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN  
 RIGHTS, SAFE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND INTEGRATION OF THE  
 RWANDAN ARMED FORCES. SHE EMPHASIZED FIRM USG COMMITMENT TO  
 SWIFT CONSTITUTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO  
 INVESTIGATE GENOCIDE IN RWANDA, AND LAID OUT OPTIONS FOR  
 ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF SECURITY IN THE GOMA AND NGARA CAMPS  
 SHE ALSO PRESSED OFFICIALS ON REPORTS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF  
 REFUGEES STILL FLEEING TO TANZANIA (SEE SEPTEL ON VISIT TO

UNCLASSIFIED

SOUTHEAST). GOR REITERATED COMMITMENT TO FOUR PRINCIPLES OUTLINED BY BUSHNELL AND URGED STRONGER INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO CURB VIOLENCE IN REFUGEE CAMPS. END SUMMARY.

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MEETINGS WITH GOR  
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3. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU IDENTIFIED THE ISSUE OF REFUGEES ON RWANDA'S BORDERS AS ONE OF THE GOR'S MAJOR CHALLENGES. LACK OF A FAIR, COHERENT REFUGEE POLICY BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT WAS A FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF THE CURRENT CONFLICT, THE PM EMPHASIZED. THE GOR WANTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S HELP IN CONVINCING THE GOZ TO ENCOURAGE RWANDANS IN ZAIRE TO REPATRIATE. HE SAW GOZ AGREEMENT TO SEPARATE SOLDIERS FROM OTHERS AS POSITIVE "IF THEY CAN DO IT."

4. ON THE ISSUE OF REPRISALS, THE PM SAID, HIS TWO-MONTH OLD GOVERNMENT WAS NOT EQUIPPED TO MONITOR AND CONTROL ALL  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01588 01 OF 03 220844Z  
ALLEGED INCIDENTS OF THAT KIND; NEVERTHELESS, THE GOR WOULD NOT TOLERATE ACTS OF VENGEANCE IF DISCOVERED. IN THAT REGARD, HE EMPHASIZED, MORE THAN 60 RPA SOLDIERS HAD ALREADY BEEN ARRESTED FOR ABUSES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CRIMINALS RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE MUST BE TRIED, HE SAID, AND WHERE WAS THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL? PM ASKED FOR US HELP IN SPEEDING CONSTITUTION OF THE TRIBUNAL AND IN CONVINCING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

5. REGARDING THE ISSUE OF LAND, THE PM SAID THE GOR WOULD NOT ALLOW RETURNEES WHO HAD LEFT BEFORE 1983 TO PRESS CLAIM FOR PROPERTY, AS AGREED UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. BUT HE ADMITTED THE GOR HAD NOT BEEN PREPARED FOR THE ENORMOUS NUMBERS OF LONG-TERM RWANDAN REFUGEES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES -- SOME 95 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL -- WHO HAD REPATRIATED SPONTANEOUSLY. THE GOVERNMENT WAS COMMITTED TO FINDING A PLACE FOR THEM, BUT HAD SO FAR NOT APPRISED UNHCR OF WHAT LAND WAS TO BE MADE AVAILABLE.

6. DAS BUSHNELL ASSURED PM THAT THE US SHARED A SENSE OF MORAL OUTRAGE OVER RECENT EVENTS IN RWANDA. THOUGH THE LEGAL AND LOGISTICAL ISSUES WERE COMPLEX, THE USG WAS CONTINUING TO PRESS HARD TO SET UP THE INTERNATIONAL

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TRIBUNAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE WERE WORKING WITH THE UN AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO FIND THE BEST WAY TO ADDRESS THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE CAMPS. WE HAD REOPENED OUR EMBASSY IN KIGALI AND WERE LOOKING AT POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE ASSISTANCE (DAS BUSHNELL ALSO FORMALLY INFORMED THE PM THAT RWANDA'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON HAD RECEIVED AGREEMENT.) AT THE SAME TIME, THE US AND OTHER DONORS WERE  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

PAGE 04            KIGALI 01588 01 OF 03 220844Z  
LOOKING FOR THE GOR TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT TO BROAD-BASED REPRESENTATION, TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO THE SAFE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES. DONORS WERE WILLING TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BUT WANTED SOLID EVIDENCE OF COMMITMENT TO THESE PRINCIPLES BEFORE CONSIDERING NEW DEVELOPMENT AID.

7. TWAGIRAMUNGU COMPLAINED THAT THE MEDIA WAS MISREPRESENTING THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA BY REFERENCES TO THE "RPF" GOVERNMENT, OR WORSE, THE "TUTSI" GOVERNMENT. THE GOR HAD TRIED TO BROADEN ITS BASE BY OFFERING POSITIONS TO FORMER MRND MEMBERS, BUT HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN. POINTING TO PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU'S STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF THE ARUSHA PRINCIPLES IN ADDIS ABABA LAST WEEK, BUSHNELL ENCOURAGED THE GOR TO BETTER PUBLICIZE ITS WORDS AND DEEDS IN DEFENSE OF THOSE PRINCIPLES, SUCH AS EFFORTS TO BROADEN LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS OR TO INTEGRATE OF EX-FAR TROOPS INTO THE RPA.

8. IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MINISTER OF REHABILITATION, BUSHNELL MET WITH DIRECTOR OF CABINET (DC) CHRISTINE UMATONI. SHE, TOO, LISTED HER PRINCIPAL CONCERN AS THE

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 01588 02 OF 03 220844Z

ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00
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	PRM-10	DRL-09	G-00	/028W			

-----752006 220846Z /38

P 220640Z SEP 94

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0059

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 001588

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INSTABILITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. THE GOR HAS NO CONTROL  
OVER WHAT IS HAPPENING OUTSIDE ITS BORDERS, SHE SAID. SHE  
URGED INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY PRESSURE ON ZAIRE TO SEPARATE  
REFUGEES FROM EX-FAR AND MILITIA AND ENCOURAGED THE CREATION  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 01588 02 OF 03 220844Z

OF SAFE CORRIDORS FOR REFUGEES TO RETURN.

9. SHE SAID HER MINISTRY SHARED USG PRIORITY OF  
REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES. AS FAR AS  
INTEGRATION OF THE EX-FAR INTO THE RPA, THAT WAS ALREADY  
HAPPENING, SHE SAID. OF COURSE, SOLDIERS HAVE TO BE  
CAREFULLY SCREENED, AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR CRIMES BE  
BROUGHT TO TRIAL. NOTING THE DELAY IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, DC COMMENTED THAT THE GOR ALSO  
NEEDED TIME AND RESOURCES TO DEAL WITH ISSUES OF JUSTICE,  
INCLUDING COMPLETE REHABILITATION OF THE POLICE, COURTS,  
ETC. SHE ECHOED PM'S CONCERN THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS BEING

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNFAIRLY CHARACTERIZED AS NARROW-BASED AND UNFAIRLY CRITICIZED FOR NOT DOING ENOUGH WHEN IT HAD NOTHING.

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FORCE COMMANDER TOUSIGNANT  
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10. BUSHNELL REVIEWED WITH FORCE COMMANDER TOUSIGNANT (FC) OPTIONS FOR DEALING WITH INTIMIDATION AND VIOLENCE IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. FC SAID HE VIEWED EXPANSION OF UNAMIR'S MANDATE TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM AS A LAST RESORT, SINCE ANTI-UN SENTIMENT WAS HIGH AMONG THE EX-FAR AND ACTIONS IN ZAIRE COULD COMPLICATE UNAMIR'S ROLE INSIDE RWANDA. A SEPARATE UN MISSION UNDER CHAPTER 7 WAS A BETTER OPTION.

11. TURNING TO RWANDA ITSELF, FC STATED HIS BELIEF THAT OVERALL THE RPA REMAINED DISCIPLINED, DESPITE REPORTED INCIDENTS OF THEFT AND ASSAULT. (FC ADMITTED HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE SOUTHEAST REGION AND OTHER AREAS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01588 02 OF 03 220844Z WHERE UNAMIR TROOPS WERE NOT PRESENT.) RPA MOVES TO THE SOUTHWEST HAD GONE SMOOTHLY SO FAR, ALTHOUGH TROOPS WERE BEING DEPLOYED IN GREATER NUMBERS THAN ORIGINALLY AGREED UPON WITH UNAMIR. FC SAW UNAMIR'S ROLE IN THAT REGION AS KEEPING RPA TROOPS IN CHECK WHILE AVOIDING DIRECT CONFRONTATIONS. HE COMPLAINED THAT LACK OF LOGISTICAL SUPPORT CONTINUED TO PLAGUE UNAMIR OPERATIONS: THE ETHIOPIAN BATTALION WAS WOEFULLY UNDER-EQUIPPED; AIRLIFT FOR THE ZAMBIAIS HAD STILL NOT BEEN RESOLVED; MOST IMPORTANTLY, TROOPS HAD NOT BEEN PAID.

[REDACTED]

B1

12. [REDACTED] REVIEWED HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH GOZ OFFICIALS, STATING THAT THE GOZ NOW SAW THE NEED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT VIOLENCE IN THE CAMPS. THERE WERE FOUR GROUPS TO CONSIDER: THE SENIOR LEADERSHIP OF SOME 20-30 EX-GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, THE EX-FAR (80,000 INCLUDING FAMILY MEMBERS), THE INTERHAMWE MILITIA AND THE REMAINDER. THE GOZ HAD ASKED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THROUGH THE UN, TO ARRANGE SOME TYPE OF ASYLUM FOR THE FIRST GROUP. (DAS BUSHNELL QUESTIONED [REDACTED] ON THE "ASYLUM" CONCEPT, POINTING OUT THAT ANY ARRANGEMENT MUST ALLOW FOR DETENTION OF THOSE

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B1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

IMPLICATED IN THE GENOCIDE.) THE FAZ WOULD TACKLE THE SECOND GROUP BUT WOULD REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND SECURITY (READ UN FORCES). AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE KINSHASA MEETINGS, A GROUP WOULD CONVNE NEXT WEEK TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS AND COSTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04            KIGALI 01588 02 OF 03 220844Z

13. ACCORDING TO [ ] GOZ PM KENGO WA KENGO WAS PREPARED TO AGREE TO ANY SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION KHAN DEEMED APPROPRIATE PROVIDING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD CONTRIBUTE THE NECESSARY LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE. REGARDING THE NATURE OF A UN PRESENCE, THE [ ] SUGGESTED USING CONTINGENTS ALREADY ASSIGNED TO RWANDA (E.G. INDIANS) IN ZAIRE (UNAMIZ) AND TANZANIA (UNAMIT) AND LATER FOLDING THEM INTO UNAMIR. HE AGREED THAT ANY OPERATION IN THE CAMPS WOULD NECESSARILY BE "MESSY", REQUIRING A CHAPTER 7 MANDATE.

B1

14. TURNING TO RWANDA ITSELF, [ ] POINTED TO THE INCREASING FRUSTRATION OF THE GOR OVER THE DEMANDS BEING MADE ON IT AND ITS INABILITY TO FUNCTION DUE TO LACK OF FUNDS. HE URGED THE US AND OTHERS TO "GIVE IT A CHANCE", SAYING SUPPORT COULD ALWAYS BE CUT BACK IF THE GOR DOES NOT LIVE UP TO EXPECTATIONS.

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UNHCR ROMAN URASA  
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CONFIDENTIAL

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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01  
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KIGALI 01588 03 OF 03 220845Z

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	PRM-10	DRL-09	G-00	/028W			

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P 220640Z SEP 94

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0060

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 001588

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15. UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE ROMAN URASA ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN  
OVER THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE CAMPS. WHILE THE EX-FAR  
MIGHT BE DEALT WITH, URASA WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ABILITY TO GET AT THE MILITIA; AT  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 01588 03 OF 03 220845Z

LEAST IN ZAIRE, THEY WOULD SIMPLY GO UNDERGROUND IF ACTION  
WERE TO BE TAKEN AGAINST THEM. STEPS TO PROTECT REFUGEES  
IN THE TANZANIAN CAMPS MIGHT BE SUCCESSFUL IF TAKEN SWIFTLY  
HE THOUGHT.

16. INSIDE RWANDA, URSAS BELIEVED TREATMENT OF RETURNEES  
VARIED DEPENDING ON THE LOCAL PREFECT AND MILITARY  
COMMANDERS. THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMED TO BE GOING AFTER THOSE  
SEEKING REVENGE, BUT THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE TO DATE OF  
DISCIPLINARY ACTION TAKEN. THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO POLICE, NO  
COURTS, NO JUDICIAL SYSTEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD SO FAR DEMONSTRATED LITTLE  
COMMITMENT TO ADDRESSING THE GENOCIDE ISSUE EITHER. URASA

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

URGED SWIFT ACTION ON SETTING UP A FUNCTIONING POLICE AND PRISON SYSTEM AND PRESSURE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER TO GET ITS PROGRAM UNDERWAY.

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UN HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER  
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17. CHIEF OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS OPERATIONS BILL CLARENCE TOLD DAS BUSHNELL THAT DEPLOYMENT OF MONITORS WAS AT LAST OCCURRING; BY SEPTEMBER 21, THE TEAM IN-COUNTRY WOULD BE UP TO 13; BY THE END OF THE MONTH, 26. NONETHELESS, LOGISTICAL AND OTHER SUPPORT WAS MINIMAL; HE HAD NO SECRETARY, HIS MONITORS WERE WITHOUT INTERPRETERS, VEHICLES AND ADEQUATE OFFICE SPACE (AMBASSADOR RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF PROVIDING SOME TEMPORARY OFFICE SPACE IN THE FORMER USIS ENGLISH TEACHING CENTER).

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01588 03 OF 03 220845Z

18. AN OPERATIONAL PLAN FOR THE MONITORS HAD BEEN APPROVED BY GENEVA, BUT IT WAS IMPERATIVE TO GET MONITORS WITH GOOD FIELD EXPERIENCE ON THE GROUND SOON, CLARENCE INSISTED. MONITORS WOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH UNAMIR, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREAS OF SECURITY AND LOGISTICS. HOWEVER, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THEY NOT BE SEEN AS AN ADJUNCT OF UNAMIR, WHICH WAS NOT ALWAYS VIEWED AS IMPARTIAL. BUSHNELL underscored strong USG SUPPORT FOR ALL HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM COMPONENTS IN RWANDA AND ENCOURAGED CLARENCE TO BE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH EMBASSY ON RESOURCE NEEDS AND POLICY CONCERNs.

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COMMENT  
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19. EVIDENCE OF INCREASING GOR FRUSTRATION SURFACED IN MAN OF DAS BUSHNELL'S DISCUSSIONS. THE GOR SENSES THE INTERNATIONAL SPOTLIGHT FOCUSED ON ITS SHORTCOMINGS, WHILE IT RECEIVES LITTLE IN THE WAY OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL SOURCES TO AND PERCEIVES LITTLE PROGRESS ON INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PUNISH THE GUILTY. NEW AND SERIOUS QUESTIONS RAISED BY GERSONY REPORT CAN ONLY HEIGHTEN THIS PERCEPTION.

20. DAS BUSHNELL HAS CLEARED THIS MESSAGE. RAWSON

UNCLASSIFIED